

ANARCHY

10p

1906: East-End
Tailors Strike

1916: Easter Rising

1926: General Strike

1936: Spanish
Revolution

1946: Mass Squatting

1956: Hungarian
Insurrection

1966: Barbican Strike

1976: A good year for an Uprising.....

ANARCHY 19

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We would like some articles from you. Possible forthcoming topics for Anarchy are Ireland, Fascism, Mental Health, Portugal, and Anarchy & Organisation, but if there's something else you would like us to print go ahead and write it. We can't use articles that are too long or academic, and we don't usually print poetry. We would like some more feedback and a wider range of contributors.

MEET ANARCHY.

Meetings are held on WEDNESDAY at about 8pm. If you want to come along, and more importantly if you want to put in some work, write or phone first to make sure we haven't all fled the country.
We're at 29 Grosvenor Avenue, Islington, London N.5 01-359 4794.

WHICH WAY ANARCHISM?

Foreward

Once again, anarchists stand at the political crossroads. Depending upon which turning one takes, there exist for the movement but two broad alternatives, one of these being the road to ultra individualism, the other journeying towards anarchist organization and, ultimately, workers' power. That the anarchist movement cannot, at this moment in time, afford to be hesitant or indecisive at the crossroads is vital if anarchism is to continue to have any political relevance. Owing to the current political breakdown of both the left and the right, anarchists are right now presented with an opportunity to demonstrate their politics, an opportunity which has not arisen in such an immediate form for many years. As such, it is imperative that we be coherent in our arguments and demands for social revolution and, even more crucially, the strategic means deployed in order to attain that goal.

If anarchism is to offer any viable alternative to other revolutionary socialist programmes, then it is of the utmost importance that its advocates are both theoretically and practically capable of demonstrating the credibility of libertarian organization. A divided and politically incoherent movement (as ours has been in the past, and to a large extent still is) cannot demonstrate this and accordingly anarchism is rendered politically redundant.

The Crossroads



It goes without saying that capitalism and bourgeois democracy are once again at crisis point, with the working class, the elderly, the sick and the unemployed being the prime recipients of the crisis, whilst simultaneously being held responsible for it.

At the very time of writing, the British Labour Government have announced even more cuts in public expenditure in favour of monetary and incentive increases to the private sector. More repressive legislation is to be anticipated in the shape and form of the proposed Criminal Trespass Act - which is specifically levelled at those areas of the community most oppressed by capitalism. Women are still prohibited from choosing whether or not they wish to be exclusively child rearing machines, and the under eighteens have no rights whatsoever. And as if inflicting all this upon British people themselves is not enough, British involvement in Northern Ireland escalates to unprecedented heights.

Many more examples could be cited - but it would be a largely superfluous exercise: suffice to say that the working class - and indeed sections of the middle class - are being attacked like they've never been attacked before.

Anticipating an outcry, the ruling class devise methods to channel potential class protest into harmless dead ends - e.g. the Sex Discrimination Act and workers' "participation" with management. These liberal deals effectively sabotage direct action, thus safeguarding the ruling class and isolating the working class not only from each other but from their real objectives - specifically workers' power.

At the opposite end of the political spectrum, the "revolutionary" left, too, is

*or, if they want children, from freely choosing whether or not to marry. - typist

at crisis point. Split over the very principles of leadership and theory they revere as being the essential precursor to revolutionary activity, they offer no solutions; firstly they are unclear themselves as to how to fight back and organize and secondly, by virtue of their vanguardist/elitist stance they succeed in alienating that very section of the working class they so desperately require in order to effect their version of social revolution.

So where as anarchists do we stand? By reason of the differences within our movement - specifically the tension between those who understand anarchism as a loose set of (apolitical) principles connected with individualism, and those who view anarchism as insolubly linked with class struggle - the broad anarchist movement can hardly step into the political vacuum created by the divided revolutionary left, and demonstrate the validity of our political and organizational perspectives, and their concomitant goal of libertarian communism. We cannot do this as a united movement since the differences between our "individualist"/"liberal" wings and the "revolutionary"/class orientated wings are irreconcilable. Thus, at a point in time like the present, when owing to the wider political climate there might well exist a potential receptiveness to libertarian/anarchist ideas amongst the working class and disenchanted revolutionary socialists, the wider anarchist movement finds itself floundering in a sea of confusion, largely unable to present any coherent alternatives to the authoritarian left, simply because it fails to see the need to politically organize, emphasizing, instead, loose groupings of individuals who "federate" - and only then to facilitate inter-communication.

Furthermore (and regrettably this indictment can be verified) those anarchists who do see the need to unite and

organize are rejected by the mainstream anarchist movement, and invariably written off as anarchists with a small "a" and a susceptibility to "Leninism". Perhaps this accusation would be more tolerable if its proponents were able to offer a coherent alternative to a politically organized anarchist movement - by which is meant an anarchist/libertarian movement capable of confronting capitalism and viable enough to work as a serious alternative to the authoritarian "revolutionary" left. Unfortunately, they do not have, and never have done, hence anarchism has not, in this country, ever gained popular recognition, nor in the absence of a political perspective is it ever likely to.

The critics of anarchist organization advocate the need for the liberation of the individual from the trappings of state and authority. But they do not envisage the dawning of this liberation as being resultant from a concerted, mass working-class movement. Somehow or another (and it is by no means clear how) individual liberty will be attained via self-liberation and self-actualization of each individual's real aspirations. In a post-revolutionary (socialist) society this is a supreme goal. But within the confines of the present pre-revolutionary and capitalist society, such an environment cannot be brought about by those self-same individual aspirations. Attempts to do so have disastrous consequences - mainly as a result of a premature demand for total liberation of the individual. It climaxes not in the direction of popular revolution but winds up instead upon the elitist rocks of ultra-individualism (at worst) and at best - as has happened with the traditional anarchist movement - into a reformist demand not for political revolution as such, but rather for "a-politicization", and a utopian belief in the gradual realization from every individual of the bankruptcy of the state and capitalism, and their spontaneous

awakening to the good sense of an anarchist society.

This latter approach is totally unrealistic; anarchists advocating this are in cloud-cuckoo-land, both predicting and awaiting an event which will never happen - much in the way of the disciples of Jehovah. It is an exercise in futility, and one reason as to why the anarchist movement in Britain has never been taken seriously.

Hence the crossroads: traditional anarchism can only move to individualism, or at best reformism, whereas revolutionary anarchism and its organizational perspective is more realistic in emphasizing the class nature of society and the need to actively fight it as a united, mass libertarian movement.

The latter of these two modes of thought is clearly the most plausible, yet it is rejected by the traditional anarchist movement. And it is not rejected simply from disagreement over organizational principles - this argument is often deployed as a red herring, diverting attention from the more fundamental reasons for the divide in our movement. More importantly, anarchism means one thing for the traditional movement but has totally different connotations to those who see no future in traditional anarchism. Perhaps this can be exemplified by a brief examination of four topics that anarchism has traditionally been taken to embrace - possibly to its detriment.

1. Individualism. An undue emphasis has been placed upon individualism within the context of anarchist theory. Indeed, in many respects, individualism runs counter to central anarchist tenets, such as the declaration for direct action, workers' control, street committees etc., all of which implicitly pivot upon the concepts of co-operation and solidarity. Individualism per se is a largely reactionary notion,

involving a rejection of the principles of co-operation, unity and mutual solidarity. It favours instead an isolationist stance, a "why should I concern myself with you?" syndrome. By virtue of its own definition it cannot recognize the central role of the working class in changing the nature of society, if indeed it can even see a need for change.

Self-styled individualists have used anarchism as a prop in the furtherance of their own ideas. Indeed, they have pervaded and infiltrated the movement to such an extent that anarchism is not infrequently associated with that doctrine that espouses unbridled laissez-faire. (Hence, Aleister Crowley's dictum "Do what thou wilt" has been misconstrued as evidence that Crowley was an anarchist.)

By way of contemporary example, nor did the "hippy" movement have anything in common with the anarchist movement although "anarchy" was a much used word at the time. For instance, rock festivals were cited as ongoing examples of "anarchism in action" or "anarchist organization" (e.g. Bill Dwyer and Graham Whiteman et al, writing on the Isle of Wight rock festival - Anarchy No 116 1st series October 1970). But there was no political consciousness as such, and whilst the idea of a few thousand people congregating in one place in order to enjoy themselves is welcome, it is a nonsense to describe it as an attempt at workers power - which is the kernel of anarchist organization.



The fact is that the traditional British anarchist movement embraces a number of ultra-individualists who scorn the idea of political activity and who do not, in any shape or form, recognize the inherent class nature of society and the need for class solidarity. 'Individualism' is not a synonym of anarchism - and it can only have relevance (and even then only vaguely) to some far-off social utopia, a dream which is unlikely to materialize.

2. Liberalism. Perhaps this is a result of the academic attention that has been given to anarchism over the years, the previously mentioned attempts to "de-politicize" it, and a subtle compliance with wider societal demands to make anarchism "respectable". Thus we hear mention made of anarchism in a variety of diverse areas ranging from vegetarianism to the CND. The accentuation of anarchism's "relevance" to the pollution/environmental arena, education, art, etc., allows anarcho-ologists and British "liberal" newspapers like the Guardian and the Observer to talk of "anarchism" without ever once mentioning class, organization, or social revolution. (It also presumably explains why people are attracted to trad. anarchism because they are "non-political".) This is not suggesting that such considerations are totally irrelevant to anarchism (any more than they are irrelevant to anything else) but they are most certainly not central to anarchist theory and practice. The point to be emphasized here is that there has been an attempted "embourgeoisement" of anarchism; an attempt to de-politicize its essential socialist perspectives and to re-gurgitate it into a mish-mash of reformism, effectively leaving what is only the shell of anarchism totally untenable, incoherent, inconsistent, and wholly apolitical.

To further frustrate the inadequacies of the traditional anarchist movement, we are now confronted with a situation in which our political credibility is demanded

- a situation whereby we are obliged to demonstrate the cogency of our viewpoint. For the most far reaching and highly consequential political developments are occurring not only in Portugal, Africa, Spain, Chile, etc., but also on our very own doorstep, in N. Ireland. Whilst accepting that one dimensional policy is not always a good thing, and that there should be room for discussion, the anarchist movement cannot, in all honesty, lay claim to having a relevant and meaningful perspective on these issues. The "plague on both your houses" attitude, to which so many anarchists subscribe, is hardly constructive, and demonstrates a fundamental lack of understanding, or indifference, to political issues which don't immediately fit in with our demands for a libertarian communist schema.

Other anarchists - in the great liberal tradition - blandly offer "critical" support to "liberation" movements in far-off countries safely out of reach from ourselves (e.g. one anarchist journal offered "critical" support to the Angolan MPLA). Yet when faced with what is (or should be) for British anarchists the even more crucial question of Ireland, the role of the Provisional IRA is dismissed with a cursory mention of the 'nationalist' and 'reactionary' nature of Republicanism, and the Provisionals condemned accordingly. No attempt is made to place the role of the IRA in perspective, to appraise their merits or demerits within the context of the political situation. (That they are not a popularly backed movement should not lead us into indiscriminate condemnation; they remain the only organization in the absence of any others who could offer realistic protection to the Catholic/Republican "minority" in the event of a concerted, physical attack against them.)

Like it or not, there is an inconsistency here, and a serious inconsistency at that. Now this is not to be construed to the

effect that anarchists should express unqualified solidarity with the IRA, but it does, arguably, indicate that we are making a distinction between the legitimacy on the one hand of self-determination for one nation of people, as against the apparent illegitimacy of self-determination for another.

That the entire concept of "self-determination" is, from an anarchist standpoint, questionable is admitted - but does this justify a reaction to the effect that "as anarchists we don't accept the notion of national self-determination, hence, in the absence of a libertarian communist movement, your problems are of no concern to us"?

3. Pacifism. It is futile to suggest that, as a result of any attempt to take over and dismantle bourgeois society, there would be no resistance - the notion of peaceful revolution is ludicrously naive. The ruling class are hardly likely to be sympathetic to libertarian communism/anarchism/socialism - and will most certainly fight in order to preserve their present advantages over the rest of society. As such, they are un-

Surfing - Free

Clarity: ☐ Left: ☐ Huge Peace Rally --
Sound: ☐ Paper: ☐ ☐ Then Capital Violence



likely to be over-concerned by a "revolutionary" movement which declares for the disestablishment of capitalism in favour of communism, yet announces its refusal to back up its declaration by the potential or actual use of physical force. The pacifist notions of non-violent obstruction, boycott, and civil disobedience are admirable in themselves, but come to naught at the moment of revolution. Pacifism as such (and despite the noble aspirations of its proponents) renders the revolutionary movement

non-revolutionary; an anarchist movement unable to effect revolution, or unwilling to physically co-operate in the protection of its interests against those who desire (forcefully and violently) to dismantle it, has little or no hope of survival. Its proclamations for libertarian communism remain forever unrealized.

4. Urban Guerrillism/"Propaganda by Deed". Injustice is not immediately obvious until one has actually suffered at the hands of it. Being directly on the receiving end of injustice involves one's awareness in the reality of the situation; "rationality" and "objectivity" are impotent when you're being evicted, or being beaten up, or suffering at the hands of reactionary "justice" by virtue of your own political beliefs.

The gut response to injustice is retaliation, and in the absence of a movement capable of "globalizing" all oppressed people's grievances and fighting as a mass movement, then small, oppressed groups, disillusioned with "revolutionary" parties who are in reality against confrontation, declare "war" of their own accord. The commonest form it takes is in the usage of explosive devices and, more recently, hijacking and kidnapping.

The indiscriminate (as opposed to discriminate; there is a difference) use of bombs is at best a tactical mistake and at worst thoroughly counter-productive. Invariably its most immediate and devastating effect is to alienate the mass working-class movement from the perpetrators - irrespective of whether or not those perpetrators believe themselves to be (in the final analysis) acting in the interest of the directly oppressed, and in the furtherance of establishing a truly democratic, socialist/libertarian/anarchist society. As a result, class is further divided against class, weakening it even more, and rendering it even more susceptible to ruling-class attacks.

In its own way the traditional anarchist movement is responsible for the occurrence of "propaganda by deed". Its failure to recognize the need for political organization, its failure to encourage all oppressed classes to link and co-ordinate their struggles into a united movement, and its failure to enjoin (however critically) with other political groupings in agitating for a revolutionary situation - in a word its elitism and consequent liberalism - all this has spelled disillusionment to some, who conclude that the struggle can only be conducted at the level of urban guerrillaism.

But even upon recognition of this, does the traditional anarchist movement then proceed to evaluate the actions of these small groups within the political context from which they emanate? No. In fact it usually declares its non-support for them. If support is offered it is offered begrudgingly within the columns of articles debating (for example) whether the Baader-Meinhoff group is or is not "anarchist".

In this country the wider anarchist movement's position on the Angry Brigade - who were not indiscriminate in their tactics - is hardly admirable. That tactically the AB was perhaps shortsighted is not the question at issue. What is at issue lies in the fact that the Angry Brigade felt they could no longer sit and wait for the anarchist movement and the revolutionary left to galvanize itself into organized action. For better or for worse - and it's easy to be critical after the event - they stepped into the political vacuum in which anarchists and libertarians should have been working towards the building and creation of a mass revolutionary movement. However, despite the fact that its own shortcomings were in the main responsible for the action taken by the AB, the traditional anarchist movement's principal concern was first to dissociate itself from the Angry Brigade; it did not even afford sufficient moral support

during the Angry Brigade trials, being too concerned with its apologist attitude of "this is not the way we anarchists carry on". Perhaps it is not, but it never once attempted to raise the issue of how the anarchist movement should be carrying on.

In the final analysis, however, neither individualism, liberalism, pacifism, or urban guerrillaism are productive either in themselves or as components of anarchism. They are, in fact, counter-revolutionary, insofar as they either do not acknowledge the need for a mass working-class movement, or as a result of their tactics they effectively split or alienate the working class (and for that matter, potentially revolutionary sections of the middle class). But, in the absence of a united libertarian front, one or any combination of these theories is liable to take hold - very possibly in the guise of anarchism. At the risk of over-emphasis, the effect is two-fold - it renders the movement politically bankrupt, and sabotages the potential for creating a broad libertarian front - the necessary precursor to libertarian communist revolution.

Conclusion

It is this notion of the creation of a revolutionary anarchist front that seems to be the great divide within the movement. One section favours individual autonomy, another favours the active building of a revolutionary anarchist organization, and another prevaricates uncertainly between the two.

The argument against the building of a libertarian front is somewhat weak and unconstructive. It proceeds from the contention that anarchism's primary concern is with the abolition of state and authority. But from here it manifests into an exaggerated abhorrence of all forms of structured organization, even to the extent of decrying

the idea of libertarian (decentralized) organization. This is a somewhat "hysterical" reaction which does anarchism a lot of no good, rendering it ineffective against both capitalism and other revolutionary socialist groups. It also spells the beginnings of apathy and liberalism: apathy because anarchism must to all intents and purposes cease to be active (it also goes some way to explaining why it has become the hobby-horse of certain academics); liberalism, because the movement becomes passive. We wind up not as a class-conscious revolutionary movement but as a cynical and self-righteous collection of individuals convinced of their own apolitical superiority.

It does not stop here, for our moribund traditional anarchist movement is then forced to tolerate the status quo. Bereft of the means to challenge existing society, it becomes obliged to come to terms with it. This is done largely through the academic medium, where quasi-anarchist ideas are vaunted in higher education and in the liberal press.

Such ideas are not immediately accessible to the working class - even if they were they would be of little interest - hence "anarchism" or what, if anything, is left of it, becomes the property of an elite who use it as a vehicle for the propagation of their own, unanarchistic, ideas.



On top of this they then go on to accuse revolutionary anarchists (i.e. organizational anarchists) of Leninist or Trotskyist sympathies, writing them off as having nothing remotely to do with "real" anarchism. (Note how a demand was made for the reformation of the British Anarchist Federation /AFB/ as soon as the traditional movement became aware of the favourable response to the organizational perspectives of the Anarchist Workers Association /AWA/.)

So, which way anarchism? From a reading of the above, this writer's feelings should be apparent - i.e. the necessity to organize (and to once and for all ditch the traditional anarchist paranoia about 'authoritarian tendencies inherent in group organization') and the need to build a libertarian movement capable of dealing the lethal blow to capitalism.

To talk of individualism and autonomy as a revolutionary force (not to say they should not be respected) is to put the cart before the horse. The enhancement of every individual's capabilities and needs is a paramount concern of revolution. But we must firstly arrive at that revolutionary situation. By sitting on the fence, the traditional anarchist movement allows the authoritarian left, the National Front, and the present British ruling class to manipulate the course of events in the direction most favourable to themselves. If we wish to prevent this, then we must act and make our presence known. And we must do so now - whilst the opportunity remains.

Jerry Cantwell

Postscript: The article necessarily introduced a number of "umbrella" concepts, notably "workers' power" and "working class". These concepts are by no means definitive, and intended only as "working definitions" within the context of the discussion. The Anarchy collective aims at an ongoing analysis of these concepts in future issues.

FASCISM IN BRITAIN TODAY



Introduction

These conclusions and generalisations, arrived at over a considerable period of time, are the results of many long conversations with various individual militants some of whom, in my mind, had progressed beyond the sloganising of the left and had begun to examine more seriously the implication of both present-day fascism and its rival, anti-fascism. As for myself, I have been involved in various anti-fascist activities, so, having read most of the current anti-fascist papers and pamphlets, having attended many meetings, pickets, demonstrations (and incidentally being somewhat pissed-off with the scene) I am not a disinterested observer. Having a keen interest in the subject I think I may be able to make

a small contribution to the re-examination of some of the issues involved. I will attempt to draw conclusions in a context which I think is radically different from the way the subject has been tackled by the left press. I will for the sake of convenience try to deliberately limit my article by concentrating upon the best-known manifestation of fascism in Britain - the National Front. Although the Nat-front has recently split, the more "moderate", opportunist, ex-Tory section breaking away to form the National Party, which represents a pitiful attempt to gain respectability and cast off the fascist image, I don't think this schism affects my arguments in any way. The article will be divided into two parts. Part 1 will deal with the relationship between certain sections of the working class and the NF. Part 2 will deal with the fashion in which the left has struggled against the Front.

Part One The National Front, the working class and the lumpen.

"Working people should demand: -

(1) An end to monopoly control and speculation of commodities (2) that the Government freeze all food prices by slashing the outrageous profits of these giant food monopolies (3) a scrapping of the fraudulent 'Price Commission' and the establishment of Government-approved housewives and trade-unionists councils to monitor food price increases in every locality (4) the rigid control of the big banks and slashing of the present exorbitant interest rates."

- Neil Farnell,
National Front
Industrial Organiser

Who supports the National Front?

The type of person who made up the rank-and-file of the fascist movement in the past, the small shopkeeper, the student, the petty clerk, the landlord, with the occasional lumpenproletarian and "hang-'em-flog-'em" military type, although much in evidence at the leadership end of Nat-front, do not necessarily make up the rank-and-file membership or support. The "traditional" supporter of the extreme right wing of the Conservative Party, the union-bashers and racists of the Monday Club that flooded into the NF after the last Tory government allowed the expelled Ugandan Asians to settle in Britain, is slowly trickling back into the Tory party, attracted by the violent laissez-faire rhetoric of Maggie and Jo (or joined the breakaway National Party). Where then does the NF draw its support from?

The answer is, unfortunately, from

certain sections of the working class. The strata of the working class I refer to are the most alienated - super-alienated in fact (although due of course to their super-alienation they are unaware of this); this does not mean they are the most economically oppressed - some of them are though. A large number of them are exploited by their bosses, but are in a strange position in their relation to their bosses and their fellow workers. These people live in working-class areas, their friends, family, relations, environment are almost exclusively working-class, yet incredibly they are almost totally alienated from their class - within the realm of class-consciousness, that is.

Where are they found?

The environment, the relation to the point of production determines for the most part their consciousness. You will find that they usually work in very small, antiquated, un-unionised factories or workshops. Inside these places they stand on opposite ends of the same wavelength. One lot for example, the minority. These lot may have worked in the same establishment for a considerable period, having built themselves up into a slightly superior position (as charge-hands, foremen, or just by the fact they have been there a long time, they receive more pay and get more overtime) they are deeply rooted into their particular job, and they have some sort of incentive, over the other workers. The slightly better-off workers may not like their bosses as persons (who does?) but neither do they have much of a regard for their fellow-workers, many of whom are women and immigrants. On balance, then, it would seem their loyalties are divided evenly, but another factor remains, that of interest. They support their bosses' interest. Examples of this are in their attitude to their bosses, crawling, boot-licking; to their fellow-workers, indifference mingled with a callow viciousness

BEWARE!



**WE WANT YOUR JOBS -
WE WANT YOUR HOMES -
WE WANT YOUR COUNTRY**

JUST ONE EXAMPLE OF INSIDIOUS
NATIONAL FRONT PROPAGANDA.

which becomes exacerbated if the other workers are immigrants. These characters can never do too much overtime, never make too many racist, sexist remarks; their traits are familiar - nauseating.

Workers of the same mentality on the other end of the wavelength, who make up the majority of this breed are mostly unskilled and disillusioned (with what, they don't know) and let the media, with their mostly backward, conservative, racist ideology, do their thinking for them. They are, most importantly, white. Whenever they start a new job in these places typified by foul working conditions, low pay and long hours, they head straight towards the people they can identify with, the people who express like thoughts, the minority referred to above. (I remember the very first day I started one of these jobs a young person who started with me, in the space of a few minutes, made a remark to me

"I don't see why they employ them" - referring to black workers. Other workers in these places usually consist of large numbers of super-exploited women and immigrants of both sexes. Of course, to a lesser extent, these other workers may be partly responsible, through their apathy, for the prevailing conditions, but when it comes to the crunch and some of these workers start fighting, say, for a union, the backward workers referred to have a choice. If they take the side of the struggling workers they can no longer be thought of as backward; they should rapidly begin to lose some of their reactionary viewpoints and head towards the camp of the revolutionary working class. If they don't they will regard the struggle as an unwarranted disturbance, stirred up by "outsiders" or "commies" perhaps, a disturbance on the otherwise humdrum existence that prevails.

Same people — some places

Apart from the small factories mentioned above, even smaller units such as the tiny workshop, the small garage for example, breed reactionary consciousness - why? Well, here the boss and the worker may do the same sort of job, wear the same kind of overalls and mix socially, like for instance go drinking together. In these places it is no exaggeration to say that there is very little chance that class-consciousness will develop at that particular point of production. Wherever class lines are hazy, reactionary consciousness develops. People like for example scrap-metal merchants, costermongers, self-employed tradespeople, mini-cab drivers, totters and their assistants are not well known as revolutionary political militants. It is most important to stress that the working conditions briefly described above are located among the most socially deprived areas. In these areas you will find that for various reasons industry is quitting, moving to more salubrious areas or just closing down because of the



1968: ANTI-IMMIGRATION
MARCHERS CLASH WITH POLICE.

economic crisis, leaving only these small un-unionised factories, or service industries. These areas, lacking adequate social amenities at the best of times (cinemas, hospitals, clinics, schools, other social services) experience a deep blow whenever these services decline even in a small way. Also, these areas are ravaged by property speculation and massive council re-development which between them create vast tracts of devastation, ringed by middle-class ghettos that push out the working class, and a broad discontent - which manifests itself sometimes in support for right-wing populists and the National Front.

Why the NF? Because, I think, there is a serious lack of a real mass revolutionary movement. In these decaying areas of our large cities, the traditional working class areas of London is where the NF picks up its main support. The large number of votes picked up by the NF in these areas indicates this. People support the NF because it offers easy solutions to complex problems: this involves turning one section of the working class against the other, appealing to the worst kind of irrationalities (like race) by appealing to people who cannot take any meaningful action for themselves and hence hate people who do (industrial militants, squatters). The Front's simplistic but effective propaganda "House Britons First" "Pensioners before Immigrants" appeals deeply to these people.



**"If only I were
black...."**



**National Front
puts Britain FIRST**

MORE HEART-WRENCHING RUBBISH.

Ar example

A good example of this situation can be found in the London Borough of Islington. Islington is one of the deprived areas mentioned above, and here a breakaway group from the Labour Party, a vile group of fuckers, play on the worst fears and irrationalities of the estranged working class. They have a fair amount of support, and have formed a "Young Married Couples Association" which has the aim of housing those "born and bred" in the borough, saying that "outsiders" are jumping the housing queue - the "outsiders" of course being the weakest sections of the working class: unmarried mothers, immigrant workers, most squatters. The YMCA at the Town Hall was reported by the local libertarian community paper the Islington Gutter Press, No. 24. The speakers spewed out all the rubbish you could expect, but this rubbish appeals to the worst kind of irrationality - and it works. The last and worst speaker summed it all up and it's worth reproducing some of his speech in detail...

"Who gets rehoused in this borough? It's the layabouts and rubbish. A third of the last 1300 homeless families we've rehoused haven't lived in the borough for a year. They come in on Monday and get a house by Tuesday. And this rubbish keeps coming in, in, in! Do you get houses? No! But these dirty layabouts, squatters, these weirdoes with their beards and sandals, all lousy

- they get houses. Look at what the council's doing, they put 5 of these squatters, all single, into Essex Houses. And they gave them cookers, carpets, bedding, the lot. And what do you get? Nothing! And look at the 22 flats, Providence Place, which the council's done up. Who got them? Young couples who've lived all their life in Islington? No. They all went to homeless families from outside the borough... (He rants on about the local councillors...) They don't represent you these councillors. They don't care about you... They're just a bunch of alrey-fairy queers. They drink their cheese and wine in their nice Barnsbury houses and theologise... (He then screams about some flats under offer)... The only way we'll get 'em is to frighten the council. They need a good fright. So we've got to crowd the chamber on Nov. 27th. If the squatters can do it, so can we. They're the only people we get in here at meetings. Squatters and layabouts... weirdoes and druggies. It's like a refuse chute in there. And it works for them. These bearded squatters get their flats with beautiful green-tiled bathrooms. It's time we crowded the place out. It's time there was a smell of roses in the council chamber for a change. Who does this council help? There's a building in St Paul's Road. Conditioned air. There's a printing press in there, where they print Gutter Press, all out of ratepayer money, our money, where they tell kids to play truant and to hit cop-

pers...."

According to the Gutter Press there was "Great applause. That was it. The meeting was over. There was no discussion." Here is the type of speech, the type of language that appeals to the super-alienated sections of the working class, the type of thing that unless checked manifests itself in growing support for right-wing populists like the NF. The NF not only offers articulation of these outpourings into a coherent political programme, but can offer an organisation, plus the ability to develop these far beyond back-street public bar mumbblings. It is up to revolutionaries to combat this sort of reactionary propaganda: if they don't it could be very costly. Revolutionaries should try to bring the submerged sections of the class into revolution. It's not impossible, and if they don't the NF will.

M.F. Wright

(Part 2 will deal with the left and the National Front.)

CHILDMINDING

I am a university student doing a social work course, which is a con out for a start, but I don't intend to do any sort of straight social work when I finish. At the moment I'm doing a research project on Childminding for the Social Services as part of my practical work. Childminders are constantly pilloried by the media, the local authorities and the ever intolerant 'public', so I wanted to speak in their defence.

Since doing this work I've found that there are three predominant views of mind-

ing and childminders -:

1. All childminders are mini-capitalists and ogres to boot. (Councillors, magistrates and lady mayoresses comments)
2. Childminders are people we have to do something about and get under control. (Social Workers)
3. Childminders are ignorant but could be helped to improve their lifestyle if taught how. (I can guess by whom.) (Liberal educationalists' viewpoint)

All three views are obviously shit but they are dangerous for the following reasons. The first kind of comment is as harmful as the sensationalist rubbish in the Daily Express. It serves to alienate other people from the minders and stigmatises them in the same way that all group-like prisoners wives, claimants, single parents, etc. are degraded.

The second comment needs no explanation, and the third view is dangerous because of its liberal front.

The desire to seek out unregistered minders is not a philanthropic gesture on the part of the local authorities. Their fear of unregistered minders lies in the fact that they represent a large area where children are being looked after beyond the control of the state.

Whatever the conditions that prevail amongst unregistered minders, it is not because they as individuals are evil or ignorant, as the media would have us believe, but because they are squashed to the bottom of the scrapheap and are weighed down by the poverty of their lives. There is a great deal of crap talked about the 'cycle of deprivation', but we all know nothing is really done to get rid of it. The increasing numbers of homeless, the gutted houses in inner city areas and the number of kids who leave school illiterate, demonstrate the real concerns of a profit motivated

society.

Childminders exist in the main because women with young children have to go out to work. Most childminders are in the same boat as those women who are working except that they work at home looking after other people's kids. The capitalist system has made looking after kids into an industry. It's a very poor one though, with no solidarity to keep the workers from breaking down completely, the hours are very long, sometimes from 7.00am to 7.00pm, the pay is lousy and you don't have the company of mates or precious tea breaks either. It's little wonder that the end products, our kids, are often so stunted and poorly developed.

As long as work exists the same shitty state of affairs will be with us. No amount of urban aid to help women learn better 'child care skills' will change the situation. The answer is always come the revolution. But at the same time something needs to be done to alleviate the shit that so many of these minders, mothers and children are going through. Communities need to organise their own nurseries which could be run by women who do not wish to or cannot go out to work. If unregistered childminders could organise themselves and break down some of the isolation that surrounds them, then the local authority could be side-stepped and we might gain an inch more control over our lives and that of our children.

STATEMENT OF THE ANARCHY MAGAZINE COLLECTIVE

We live in a class society. The Anarchy collective believe that the only way to achieve a classless, anarchist society is through a revolution both economic and social. To this end we direct our efforts, by bringing out a magazine combining theory, agitation and personal experiences which analyse the present system and ways of living, offer an anarchist alternative and try to suggest a means by which we can individually and collectively fight repression and organise anarchism.

We're not interested in theory for it's own sake, or superficial propaganda without an understanding of issues beyond slogans.

We don't have a fixed time to publish, and decide to print articles, and letters on a broad range of subjects, from many angles. However, we reject pacifism, marxism, liberalism and individualism as inadequate analyses which tend to weaken anarchist ideas and movements.

Membership of the group is open to anyone who broadly understands our aims, and/or is willing to help in the collective making of the magazine, and articles from anybody are welcomed.

We wish to co-operate and organise more closely with other anarchists in a revolutionary movement, so as to spread anarchist ideas successfully among people until capitalism and the State have been destroyed.

LETTERS

Dear Comrades,

John Northey ("The Mafia Killed Carlo Tresca") obviously did not read my article ("Who Killed Carlo Tresca?", Anarchy No. 13) very carefully. He should not believe everything that Lucky Luciano said either.

I did not ask "if Carlo Tresca was assassinated by communists". I merely chronicled much of what has been said "publicly" about Tresca's murder - and asked the question. Having spent months investigating the known evidence, and delving into Tresca's past, and former associates, I infer (and still believe) that Carlo Tresca was assassinated by an NKVD agent. And I am inclined to think that his murder was organised by George Mink, as was Juliet Poyntz's. But I do not rule out the "mob"; I do not deny that either, or both, the Mafia and the Fascists wanted him out of the way. Tresca had many enemies. The Chekists possibly - probably - employed a couple of Mafia "hoods" to do the job.

Luciano says that Tresca got "knocked off in broad daylight". Obviously, Lucky was wrong. Tresca was bumped off at exactly twenty minutes to ten at night, in semi-darkness. Carlo Tresca's long-time friend and comrade, Giuseppe Calabi, was with him as he was gunned down. That's a fact.

Says John Northey: "Perhaps now the Tresca case is closed". And perhaps it ain't. I still ask: "Who killed Carlo Tresca?"

Yours fraternally,
Peter E. Newell

Dear Comrades,

I enclose a cheque for £1-50, please send me the next 10 issues of ANARCHY.

Thank you for publishing the anti-abortion article and letters representing both sides of the argument. The article will have heartened the Christians who read ANARCHY (few as they may be...); what is more, it and the letters will have made it clear that abortion is opposed not only by Christians but by many (if not the majority of) atheists, agnostics, and humanists as well. I hope that the debate will continue, for it calls into question our understanding of words such as 'freedom', which are often bandied about unthinkingly.

Incidentally, PEACE NEWS would not publish an anti-abortion article that was sent to them some time ago, even though they occasionally allow anti-abortion letters to appear - it is good to reflect that ANARCHY is more liberal than PN in this respect.

I hope also that the issue of non-violence will come up again in ANARCHY. Recent issues seem to me to be very violent in tone: I was particularly repelled by the ferocious cartoon on page 2 of No. 18. Is anarchism about a class struggle as some of the more simplistic articles in the magazine seem to suggest, or is it about a re-ordering of society in a much more profound way? Some of your contributors seem almost Marxist in their desire to establish working-class domination.

I know that I am over-simplifying here. It does however seem to me that ANARCHY should devote less time to stirring up class hatred (or any other kind of hatred) and more time to discussing what sort of society we want and how it is to be achieved.

Love and peace,
Revd. A.B. King.

Dear Comrades,

Having just discovered 'Anarchy 18', and slowly developing an anarchist view of society, I feel the need to criticize Martin Wright's article 'The Working Class and Revolution'.

1) My initial reaction was one of surprise to find an article in an anarchist magazine that was so clearly Marxist in its terms and analysis. This way one is inevitably drawn towards Marxist and not anarchist conclusions, as Martin has, with the excessive promotion of the working-class as the only revolutionaries. This in contrast to his hope for a better society with "everybody being truly equal." Where is the anarchist concern for freedom for everyone? (Even Marx saw the bourgeoisie as also being oppressed and alienated, albeit in a different way).

To write off everyone apart from the working-class as revolutionaries is both simplistic and self-alienating. Anarchism is for me a way of living now, not tomorrow, which anyone from any class can adopt. It doesn't matter where you come from, so much as what you're working towards. Wasn't Kropotkin from the aristocracy?

2) Related to this was his condemnation of 'radical feminism'. Apart from not knowing exactly what Martin means by this and other such phrases, I think he underrates the contribution of the women's movement to revolutionary knowledge. I agree that in many instances certain 'radical' groups have diverted energy away from the revolutionary struggle but in the case of the women's movement they have developed an awareness of how capitalism still lurks in the head of most revolutionaries. Feminist 'consciousness-raising' groups which aim at exorcising the capitalist-within-me are appropriate for anarchists as well. Such methods give greater perception of the subtlety of

capitalist ideology, and are an essential tool in breaking down the alienation that exists even between revolutionaries.

3) Martin also over-generalizes in his condemnation of Trade Unions as being reactionary in outlook and practice. Phil Green supports this attack but at least offers the alternative of rank and file control. I think that some T.U.'s are capable of swinging towards this and greater political awareness. Some people still identify with T.U.'s contrary to Phil's statement, and spend a lot of time and energy working for illusory goals. If these people could be educated towards their own real interests, T.U.'s would be more effective at what they were originally created for. But I do agree that T.U.'s are only one area for anarchist action; however we shouldn't write them off as being dead, as there may be possibilities for re-direction.

To finish what I want to say, I fully support E. Sivell's admonition to help rather than attack other anarchists in their work. No two anarchists will fully agree with each other, and that's healthy as long as the differences can produce increased understanding and co-operation.

yours,
Bob Shultz.



this is Charlotte's ultimate
word on class



What we are governs our disaffection.

We have all some power.

We are none of us "workers".

WE ARE ALL IMPORTANT.

You may categorise us in class terms, but you see us in these terms.
So let us fight on these terms and give us the honour under these terms. When
we suffer we suffer as persons fitting into this category - when we rebel and
fight you negate our fight by putting us into a different category; we become
working class heroes not heroes of our real oppressed category.

TRUTH IS - CRY AND WE CRY ALONE

FIGHT AND YOU CHANGE THE RULES.



if we let children have their way there'd be.....

ANARCHY

10p



INSIDE

KIDS

ULRICH REINHOF

IRISH ANARCHISTS

FASCISM

POLICE COMPUTERS

ANARCHY 20

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MEET ANARCHY

Meetings are held on WEDNESDAY at about
8pm. If you want to come along, and more
importantly if you want to put in some work,
write or phone first to make sure we
haven't all fled the country.
We're at 29, Grosvenor Avenue,
Islington, London N5. 01-359-4794

WRITE FOR ANARCHY

We would like some articles from you.
Possible forthcoming topics for *Anarchy*
are Ireland, Mental Health, if there's some-
thing you want to do print go ahead and
write it. We can't use articles that are too
long or academic and we don't usually print
poetry. Articles accompanied by illustrations
are very welcome. We would welcome more
feedback.

STATE TERRORISM in EIRE

NOEL AND MARIE MURRAY HAVE BEEN SENTENCED TO DEATH BY A SPECIAL CRIMINAL COURT IN DUBLIN. RONAN STENSON IS STILL UNFIT FOR TRIAL - HERE ARE THE FACTS AS WE KNOW THEM.....

New Earth was a loose and informal group in Dublin which included both anarchists and situationists. They got together to produce a libertarian paper, to be called New Earth.

Police raids and arrests of a number of the group disrupted these plans.

In Easter 1974 Des Keane, Columba Longmore, Bob Cullen, Noel Murray and Marie were arrested after a petrol bomb attack on the Spanish Institute in Dublin, during the protests over the garroting in Spain of Salvadore Puig Antich.

Des Keane was sentenced to 5 years, Columba Longmore to 4 years, Bob Cullen to 7 years. Marie Murray got a 2 year suspended sentence, and Noel Murray jumped bail.

Ronan Stenson was an activist within the Prisoners Rights Organisation, which has become an embarrassment to the government for persistent exposure of prison conditions.

On 11th September 1975 the Allied Irish Bank, Duffin, was raided by at least three people and £7,000 was stolen. The robbers were followed in a car by an off duty police-man, Garda Reynolds, who was later found

in St. Annes Park, shot in the head. (Forensic reports indicate that he might have been shot in the course of a fight at close quarters.)

The Evening Herald ran headlines that the policeman had been shot by anarchists, while at the time the police were saying they didn't know who was responsible. A reward of £20,000 was offered for information.

On September 23rd the police started raiding the homes of all known anarchists and the friends and relatives of those anarchists already in prison, and a wide spectrum of people involved in community and welfare organisations, including prisoners rights. About 200 raids were carried out. One person who "helped the police with their enquiries" was released with several ribs broken, another they hospitalised for 2 weeks. They had all been asked to "confess" to knowing who was responsible for the bank raid.

One of the people raided, interrogated, and later released in these raids was Ronan Stenson.

On October 9th Noel and Marie Murray were arrested by 20 armed police as they returned home. At 10.30am that same day Ronan Stenson was also picked up from his home.

As far as we know there is no close political connection between the Murrays, who are anarchists, and Ronan Stenson who is not (except in as much as if you are active in working on prisoners rights you will sooner or later be likely to meet people active in the anarchist movement, a number of whom are in prison.)

The three were initially interrogated separately. Stenson was beaten with a

(continued on page 13)

CHILDREN ARE A *bloody* *nuisance* REVOLUTIONARY FORCE

Children are the enemies of alienation. They don't fit into schedules. Doctors and nurses draw up timetables for looking after babies and then parents feel inadequate because the babies don't conform. Child care is a drag on women not only because it's done in isolation but because it always has to be done against the clock, to fit in with shop hours, men's or their own job hours, school hours, clinic hours, bank hours, post office hours, SS hours, and it's impossible. No matter how many creches they set up and how much maternity leave they introduce, children's needs will be in conflict with bureaucrats' and bosses' needs; children will always be an obstacle to achieving those things which are so highly valued, and often economically necessary, in this society.

So it's no wonder that the anarchist movement, which in so many other respects mirrors alienated class society, should be dominated by childless people and their values. Where you do find parents, they're likely to be middle-class, because middle-class people find it easier to get some freedom from the children (and because they predominate anyway on the left); conversely, where you find working-class anarchists they are usually childless young people. Working-class parents, who carry the greatest burdens of capitalist society, are virtually unrepresented.

We all agree in principle that in the society we want, child care would be valued as work and children as people, not just as

future employees. And paradoxically, the more you got away from alienated work, the more feasible it would become for children to be useful workers without harm to themselves, indeed with benefits in self-respect and social integration.

But whatever we think in principle, the left joins with capitalism in rewarding childlessness.

Capitalism really sentences you to prison when you have kids. (I'm not saying this wasn't so in former societies, only I'm talking about now.) You often hear the statement "Capitalism wants you to breed so it will have factory fodder" - but this doesn't mean it has any use for children who can't be exploited yet. You don't expect the ruling class to be fair, do you? It's not going to say "Some day these kids will be making us rich, so the least we can do is make them and their parents comfortable now." It dumps the burden onto working-class families who live several people to one wage, relieved by piddling tax breaks and family allowance plus means-tested benefits, the parents having no rest and no independence - while childless people buy their Time Outs every week to find out what to do with their excess leisure and money.

Can you imagine anyone in a communal society saying "I'm going to knock off 4 hours earlier than the rest of you because I've produced no children, and by the way I want 2 coats instead of one, for the same

reason"? S/he would at best be treated indulgently as a lunatic. But under capitalism these privileges are taken for granted. The assumption is that because you chose to have children you must get so much joy out of it that you don't mind living like a pig for 10 years or more. They don't use this dedicated-martyr argument against nurses any more, but parents will always be vulnerable to it as long as there's a wages system which they stand outside of in their capacity as private parents rather than professional childminders.

I have a revenge fantasy of a society in which it's the other way round: only parents are considered workers while others are defined as UNEMPLOYED, and are only given secondary things to do like building roads, growing vegetables, printing magazines etc. - things which would have no purpose if there were no people to do them for. I mean, you can't call that kind of thing real work, can you? They would have to do it all the time (including being on call at night) and could only get out of it if they got someone else to fill in for them, usually some other UNEMPLOYED person with whom they exchanged tasks. In order to subsist they'd have to indenture themselves to a real worker who would give them food and lodging and maybe a few extras if anything was to spare; if they couldn't find a boss, the tasks (which they would have to go on doing) would be considered illegitimate and they would be given charity and denounced as burdens to society. If any of them complained they'd be told "It was your own choice - no one forced you not to have children. We have free treatment for sterility nowadays."

At which point they would say what I say - some choice!

Then perhaps along would come a liberation movement which would give the UNEMPLOYED a chance to mind children 8 hours

a day in exchange for first-class citizenship - except that they would still have to do all that other non-work in their off hours because it was their responsibility.

Well, the left shares capitalism's view of children. Its politics are recreational, based on the male employee's schedule, since it was men who started the left and we follow the same patterns today despite women's liberation - you go to meetings after hours and on weekends and you do things that cost quite a lot of money, like printing leaflets, because your money is yours to dispose of. So naturally even though there are a lot of women in left politics today, they're mostly socioeconomic men - they have jobs and no kids; and now that men are assuming a fairer share of child care, fathers play a secondary role to the childless men. The issues concentrated on are mostly concerned with jobs or with comparatively remote things like frame-ups or foreign wars, seldom with the needs of families except as they relate to the wage-earner. Parents who can't get to meetings or do their share of the leaflet-producing etc. or contribute money to the cause are made to feel like passengers. Crèches are rare and badly run (how nice of them to have one at all; it would be too



made to expect them to do it well) and the fact that they're poorly attended due to the dearth of parents in the group is used as an excuse for not having one next time.

Instead of the left seeing its childlessness as a weakness, it sees parents as insufficiently revolutionary or just ignores them altogether. One woman writes (in support of abortion) "I don't think a single woman with kids is in a good position to be fighting the state". She offers revolutionary women the same choice as does capitalism - marriage/cohabitation or childlessness (she dismisses communal child care as something we haven't got yet) - only now it's imposed in the name of revolution. She, like the rest of the left, doesn't know what fighting is. A single woman with kids is fighting the state with her very existence. The state hards her like poison. It stigmatizes her children, degrades her at the SS office, labels her a social problem, blames thoughtlessness on "marriage-breakdown" (society can't afford for women to have their own territory), and sets up "contraceptorial" teenage advice centres whose sole purpose is to prevent children like hers from being born - and she still says an uncompromising no to marriage, which is one of the foundational sinners of the state. By contrast, the state loves nice young ladies with jobs who go to meetings every week like all our idealistic young people nowadays. It can afford to liberate childless women as they'll always be a minority. You don't fight women's oppression by staying childless, you just evade it. Of course a woman who doesn't want kids shouldn't have them just for political reasons, but neither should she tell those who do want them that it's unrevolutionary to have them.

Here is the Anarchist Workers Association's programme on women:

"...this conference of the AWA reaffirms its support for the women's struggle

for sexual and economic equality. This includes:-

- (i) Free contraception for all regardless of age,
- (ii) Free abortion on demand,
- (iii) Equal access to training to enable full participation in the means of production and distribution.

And that the organisation and its members take an active part in any organisations, including affiliation to the Working Women's Charter, fighting for the raising of the level of consciousness about these issues..."

Kids just aren't supposed to exist. Not even the usual demands for nurseries etc., although it's true that the Working Women's Charter itself includes such demands as part of a reformist and statist campaign to get housewives into wage labour. After that, I wasn't too surprised to read in an AWA leaflet that "People are not born 'men' or 'women' but made". Maybe instead of holding day schools on Reich and Makinovich they should concentrate on more urgent educational needs. Like you see, comrades, Daddy put the seed in Mama's tummy and she watered it every day with orange juice and it got bigger and bigger until one day it popped out and someone had to look after it. That's how everyone in the world got here and if no-one had looked after us when we were helpless infants we would be dead and (this is the important part) all the factories would have to close down, even those under workers control.

I'm sick of hearing women who do much less work than I do calling themselves "working women" and telling me I should get a job. Of course it's mostly professional or highly skilled women who think jobs are so desirable as to be worth dragging babies to and from nurseries for - if they had to work in a typing pool under a supervisor, typing reports and things for women like themselves, they would be less keen. Working-class women are more

likely to have babies in the hope of getting away from their bloody jobs, and won't thank you for making it easier to go back to them. (Although "working women" fight the sexist conventions which help to keep many women in unpleasant jobs, never do they attack the meritocratic hierarchy which is the main cause of most women and men having to take those jobs.)

It's not as though the wage-labour approach to women's problems were even going to give us financial independence from men. I used to be enthusiastic about that approach when I thought that such was the case, but I abandoned it when I realized that at my class level I could never hope to earn enough to support my children independently. Everyone's real wages are falling every day, and equal pay (even with all the loopholes closed) will only mean that the bosses are demanding 60-80 hours a week to keep a family in poverty. Instead of 40. Single parents will still have to rely on SS. Women's independence would cost money and the ruling class just isn't going to pay for it except for the childless and a few professional women. Equal pay is important for psychological reasons only.

When you read in a left paper what a pity it is that they're not putting a nursery in a new estate when so many mothers have to go out to work to pay the increased rent, you wonder just what "liberation" means to some people.

The real reason why housewives (including single parents on SS or men who stay home while their wives have jobs) are dismissed by the left is that we are outside the power structure. No-one in authority had to approve us for the job: we require no licence to do it (though plenty would like to introduce it, and the state's power to remove children is a negative kind of licence), we can organize our own work without a supervisor. As soon as you become a paid

childminder your political status goes up.

I think we should be organizing more private communal child care (instead of pressing for more state or industrial nurseries, which are not the same as "community child care" although some leftists talk as though they were). The latter would mean parents themselves plus childless friends minding children on a rota without supervision. State or industrial nurseries mean full-time licensed childminders serving the boss class so that parents can do other jobs for the boss class. Far from being controlled by parents they can control parents by complaining about their after-hours care of the children or their life style. Far from existing for the sake of children and parents, they exist for the sake of employers, as a secondary service industry. And although they do indeed move away from the nuclear family they do so in the direction of greater isolation, not in the direction of communal life. The last personal, non-alienated tie remaining under capitalist bureaucracy, that between full-time parent and child, is whittled down to a few hours and everyone, child, woman or man, has as their main relationship that with persons in authority serving the ruling class. Everyone is institutionalized. The nursery staff are hard-working and kindly; the nursery is run well, but it's still state-controlled. I don't want the state to acquire a monopoly on child care.*

And for all this institutionalization, you're still expected to get married, - as is the case in state capitalist countries which brag about how women have equality because they have jobs, equal pay and nurseries.

This isn't freedom for women or men.

*There is a disagreement within the Anarchy group over whether state nurseries could be transformed into genuine communal child care such as we would like to see in an anarchist society.



it's freedom for robots. Women and men are those respective halves of the species who contribute in different ways to the production of children: the words have no other meaning unless you believe in innate psychological differences. If women can have only the freedom to take their place in the employment hierarchy, either by not having children or by turning them over to the control of the ruling class, then they have no freedom. Neither do the men - and of course men have been robotized for a long time. Why can't anti-kids women realize that it's primarily as mothers that we're oppressed: childless women only get some of the spin-off because they might have babies. They get indignant about this because they would never do anything so unliberated. The Sex Discrimination Act says nothing about discrimination on grounds of motherhood, only marriage, and mothers are really in a bad position when looking for a job, having to cringingly assure the interviewer that the children are adequately dumped, their father will take time off when they're ill, or whatever. And how much worse it is if you're single! But what's the use of labelling these things unjust? It only shows the hopeless conflict between bosses' and people's needs. Why try to reconcile the irreconcilable? Parents - those who accept any responsibility for child care, and aren't just money-

making machines - are bad employees.

What do I suggest, then? The Claimants Union and Wages for Housework share my values but (apart from the objections that "housework" is too vague, as it's child care which ties you down and needs some form of support; and that WfH make no provision for payments to men looking after children) I can't accept that money from the state can be a basis for revolution in the long run, and WfH would be dangerous as it would establish an ethos of state control of private life, quite apart from the question of payment.

What we should do is -

(1) try to bring work patterns into harmony with child care. That means more self-employment, job-sharing, part-time and casual work, growing your own and doing it yourself to cut down on wages needed, going to the land - squatting it if necessary: everything, in fact, which is liberatory.

The hard left considers all these things irrelevant and self-employment downright reactionary. In this, as in the matter of children, it shares the values of capitalism which weights everything - respectable status, benefits, opportunities - in favour of the long-term, full-time employee and

makes others feel almost like criminals (which they literally are in communist countries). The state is clobbering the self-employed and there's been a campaign to get rid of temporary jobs. The hard left is composed of power-oriented people who identify with union leaders and commissars even when they theoretically disapprove of them: after their sort of revolution they would just be union leaders under a different name and they don't like intractable human material.

Working-class housewives would rather not have jobs and do so only from dire need. Why should we be ashamed of not wanting jobs? Our position outside the power structure, despite the hardships that go with it, is a privilege to be guarded and used politically, not flung away in a mad dash after jobs. The only time it's liberatory for a housewife to take a job is when she's taking some of the burden off a wage-slave, rather than doing more work in addition to his.

You often hear the argument that employment gives you leverage. In practice this isn't so, except for those few who are adept at manipulating and propagandizing their workmates. It would make me feel oily to start a job alongside a lot of straight people, hoping to convert them to anarchism either by outright haranguing or by slyly slipping in libertarian attitudes when occasion presents itself. Sure, there are tactful ways of doing it - if you're a born politician.

Whatever their politics, most low-grade workers hate work and you're much more likely to encourage this natural source of support by offering the hope of some life and freedom now than by fantasizing about mass occupations, general strikes and revolutions 20 years in the future.

If you must have a full-time job, the fight

for shorter and more flexible hours, autonomy, contract (rather than boss-servant) relationships, should come first. But what do we get from the hard left? "Fight redundancy".

(2) It's also important for working-class people to form communes. (Indeed I don't see how an anarchist revolution can occur at all while we are stuck in our little holes struggling to survive as families, over-worked, depressed, always in terror of homelessness, pennilessness, harassment, while reserving "political" activity for our weekly night out. Communes and the like are mostly derided when they consist of rich, leisured people who have no trouble buying houses and land and imagine that their example will inspire the state to dissolve itself and the ruling class to give up their excess property without a fight. It's much harder for poor people to form communes - the state's housing policy shows that it's aware of the revolutionary potential of communes and the repressive power of marriage - but we must start and are starting to do it, by squatting and treating council estates as communes. This makes it easier to survive on less wages and without child care which is alienated, inconvenient and inadequate (no evening and weekend care).

(3) Make our politics revolve around our daily lives, not restricted to after-job hours. (Every couple knows that when a meeting or demonstration is on, it's the person who stays home with the kids who's working, making a sacrifice, and the person who participates in the so-called struggle who's having a good time.) Reject the bureaucratic politics taken up most typically by those who don't want to mess up their lives with anything so messy and uncontrollable as children.

Mme de Staël

Casualty of war

Ulrike Meinhof is dead, murdered by the German state in prison. No doubt her executioners rub their bloody hands with glee and prepare for all our other comrades to be killed or locked up forever.

Why were she and the Red Army Faction (RAF) so dangerous and threatening to the German Establishment? After all, the RAF, a mixture of anarchists and marxists, were hardly likely single-handedly to arouse the working classes of Europe to revolution. But in the last few years there has been a constant and growing ferment throughout Europe, and the RAF's tactics of continued confrontation were an embarrassment and potentially explosive threat to be suppressed. They had identified the enemy and decided to attack it and its institutions in a way which laid bare the organs of power and repression of the state - police, army, prisons - and media propaganda. The facade of Western democracy barely manages to conceal its true nature, so the opposition it most hates is that which forces it to show its teeth - the opposition which cannot be compromised or recuperated or institutionalised. It has to be destroyed, as Meinhof and her comrades are being destroyed. They are casualties of war.

Every day of our lives we fight skirmishes and battles with the state, and the RAF extended these to war-footing with military weapons. They are being crushed with a viciousness which is symptomatic of the increasing punishment handed out by the state to dissidents.

We should hold no illusions. Faced with the growing armory of repression, individual guerrilla action or that of small groups can be useful only in certain ways. (1) As a personal statement of frustration, which we all feel and sometimes are forced by anger to express,

(2) Symbolic action.

(a) As propaganda, to identify a certain face of the state (Army Recruitment office, bank, M.P.) and make some gesture of defiance.

(b) As a catalyst. In a situation where some people are already up against the state (strike, demo, facing police), symbolic action related to this may help them identify their common enemy and turn their struggle into a revolutionary one.



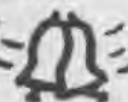
You can never rely on the bourgeois media to get your message across and so you will have to have your own effective propaganda or face possible defeat.

(3) Plain simple sabotage. Always good for a laugh - blow up a police computer, set fire to the town hall, throw a spanner into production line machinery. It won't stop the capitalists but will annoy them and in certain situations may give us a tactical advantage. In fact, in a full scale war, either between states or classes, sabotage becomes a vital tactic until the opposition finds it almost impossible to function.

Ulrike and her colleagues acted in these ways but in the absence of a strong revolutionary movement they could neither spread their propaganda sufficiently nor be defended when caught. It is our job, not to mourn, but to spread the influence of our ideas and actions until the people of the world, with vision and courage, will wreck capitalism and the state and create a free world where death by torture, imprisonment and police repression will become a distant and distasteful memory.

We send our solidarity to all revolutionaries engaged in the struggle.

The Anarchy Collective



FASCISM IN BRITAIN TODAY

part two

the left and the national front

"Only one thing could have stopped our movement - if our adversaries had understood its principle and from the first day had smashed with the utmost brutality the nucleus of our new movement." - Hitler

Counter - demos, Pickets.

How has the left shaped up to the National Front? The answer is, usually, in the most abject fashion imaginable. For instance... whenever the NF has held a demonstration or a rally the left opposition consists of, for starters, howls of protest to the appropriate local government authorities, "Don't let the fascists use the Town Hall." Then, after their protestations have been rejected, they stage the predictable counter-demonstration picket, which occasionally ends with a bust-up involving the police (who protect the fascists with such determination that, so far, there has been no major clash on the streets between left and right). As a sideline, adventurist elements such as International Socialists might furtively depart from the main march and in a vain attempt to enhance their "street-fighting" image try to tackle the NF by themselves, which results in a number of arrests and injuries with as always the unfortunate "breakaways" coming off far worse than the NF. Meanwhile, as another sideline, tiny cliques of screaming Maoists attack police HQs kamikaze style, and this time they and everyone unlucky enough to be in the immediate vicinity end up getting their heads kicked in by zealous cops. Every shade of leftism is represented during these manifestations, the smaller groups in order to increase their tiny stature adopting violent

phraseology which they are incapable of fulfilling with actions.

The platform is always controlled by an ad-hoc committee, with usually the CP in control behind the scenes. The CP doesn't use the platform for advocating the use of violence against the NF, sometimes, in fact, in order to convey the impression that they are just as respectable as the Labour Party, they even go so far as to say that anybody using the platform to propagate the use of violence against the NF will be slung off. (As at Hyde Park, where the left successfully occupied Speakers Corner to prevent the NF from marching there.)

Tackling The Front On The Street

The left, in challenging the NF on the streets, has for the most part fallen flat on its face, although by the images projected in their papers you would think that every time the NF ventured into the streets they were defeated decisively by a mass turnout of the working-class and the left. Unfortunately, or fortunately perhaps, each time the left attempts to reach the NF they are prevented by the police. The truth of the matter is that the left is unable to make a real physical impression on the police or fascists. What happens sometimes is that we have the spectacle of police beating shit out of the lefties, while the NF looks on from a safe distance, sniggering or cheering, depending on how vigorously the cops are laying in. All that's achieved in these struggles is hundreds of arrests and injuries, and at Red Lion Square (an example of what I'm thinking of) an anti-fascist was killed by the police. I think that this is because the left is unable to devise tactics and strategy to suit the situation.

Propaganda

Propaganda directed against the NF has taken on the appearance of a small industry, with even the most obscure left groups churning out a mass of pamphlets. Despite the tremendous amount, all these pamphlets and articles are of a low calibre. They all, for instance, lay stress on the criminality of the leaders of the NF. We are treated to the same old photographs of Tyndale in his Nazi uniform. They never go much further, never attempt to analyse why the working class never turns out en masse to smash the Front, or even why large numbers of working-class people subscribe to Front-line ideas. They are at pains to point out that NF leaders straggled in Nazi uniform, confabulated with swastikas, but who has any use for that argument now? Today, British fascists gather around using the Union Jack, and it is "unpatriotic" to insult the flag, isn't it? (Think the scene of the

CP more than other left groups.) In a book written by a CP hack, Tony Gilbert, called "Only One Died", which deals with the government inquiry into the Red Lion Square riots, the author in giving evidence claimed that the NF placing the Union Jack on leaflets was a "mistake" of the flag. But this isn't isolated - witness the revolting behaviour, the chauvinism, of most of the groups involved in the latest anti-fascist movement, during the EEC referendum. Most of these groups regard the imperialist bloodbath known as World War Two as - anti-fascist! How many times have we been subjected to speeches containing such gems as "Free speech for fascists? - That was decided on the streets of Stalingrad... or Berlin" and "audacism of anti-fascist events? Too many times, I think."



EXAMPLE OF LEFT-WING CHAUVINISM -

Common Market Party cartoon against E.E.C. (from "Morning Star") shows a rich capitalist heading over flag underfoot in order to gain entry.



With the growth of fascism in this country (and indeed, worldwide) with the struggle against it, a magazine exclusively anti-fascist has emerged, "Searchlight". The contents are detailed and informative (and I recommend it for this) but on the other hand its tone is legalistic, "patriotic", trade-union oriented. For examples, there are open letters to Roy Jenkins requesting him to ban the NF, and articles urging the government to create stronger laws against racism - laws which, as we know, and up being used against the anti-fascists, like the 1936 public order act. Writers for Searchlight range from IS hacks to right-wing Labour MPs.

Left And Anti-Fascist Tactics

One of the many weaknesses of the left has been shown by their misunderstanding of the use of force. It's all right for the trots to don their bowler boots and chase a few fascists around the back streets (a task which they find heavy going at times). But what happens when the agro reaches proportions of another dimension? They are, I'm afraid, left high and dry. In London's Camden High Street the lefties held a meeting to discuss tactics for opposing a Front march. As the delegates arrived they were menaced by NF heavies who told them that they "would be back later". They were, firing a shotgun Chicago style from a car and shattering the window of the building. The reaction of the lefties inside? They called the police. And then? Why, they are surprised by the lack of interest shown by the police. All these left groups knew

even this minimal effort is rendered useless when a police snatch squad pluck an unfortunate from the centre of the IMG defensive circle and arrest him. After the rally has finished the IMGers put their helmets into plastic bags and sneak away in the most nervous fashion. Worse still, when the NF held their vile "march against (black) muggers" in London's East End last summer, the opposing anti-fascist march, outnumbering the NF by more than 4 to 1, formed up only five minutes from the fascists' departure point. Yet when anti-fascists marched off in the opposite direction, even Searchlight commented, "The counter-demonstration was attended by nearly five thousand people...but this rally had failed to grasp the fact that it was in their power to have halted the fascist provocation, by just non-violently standing in its path before



Anti-Fascists in Trafalgar Square face a "British Movement" rally

where the NF headquarters were at that time (50 Pawsons Rd, Croydon), but they remained un-attacked. Such is the respect the left has for conventional methods. A couple of weeks after this event, the IMG instruct their members to turn up at the Hyde Park rally wearing crash helmets, but

it got under way. Whilst we at Searchlight are against violence and see no point in fighting with the police, we must respect the handful of youngsters who stood in the path of the march only to be batoned by the police."

But more recently, April 24th to be precise, things showed a turn for the better, as at Bradford where counter-demon-

arrangers faced 1000 Front marchers. The NP were protected by large numbers of police (as usual): they provoked the violence by damaging Asian-owned shops while police stood by and did nothing. The anti-fascists, though, showed they could fight with some success: bricks, bottles and beer cans were hurled at the Front. Barricades were dragged across the street in an attempt to halt the fascists, and when the police attacked the anti-fascists, they too were showered with stones and bottles, police vans were overturned, and attempts were made to set them on fire; numbers of police were badly injured including numbers of the mounted police. The number arrested was 30. Contrast this with events in London the same day, when 200 marchers, mostly from the Nazi "British Movement", were challenged by about 500 anti-fascists. There was a battle in Trafalgar Square between the anti-fascists and police - mostly members of the Special Patrol Group, who brutally beat up the outnumbered anti-fascists, injuring many



Bradford —

Overturned police vehicles
in the wake of the riot.

while police casualties were virtually nil. Twenty-five arrests. I think we have things to learn from both events on the 24th.

Fascist Tactics

Front tactics are more brutal than the left's: anonymous attacks in back streets on militants and immigrants, and even worse, pouring paraffin into immigrant workers' letter-boxes and setting light to it; the list is endless. Then, on another level, attacking the small bookshops and headquarters of sectarian left-wing groups (like Maoists): owing to the distance and size of these groups few, if any, reprisals need be expected. Pacifists and liberals make excellent targets - they don't hit back. When all these attacks are combined, the fascists gain a formidable reputation. The Nat-Front are also becoming more daring in that they attack left-wing demonstrations such as the Troops Out demonstration, which was fairly successfully attacked by the Nat-Front on 21st February at Shepherd's Bush Green. There is evidence that some ultra-rightists, members of the Nat-Front included, are training in forests with members of the Territorial Army - and that during these manoeuvres they are armed. On another level the Front pick up most of their members by running in elections; during the last General Election they picked up 113,000 votes (mostly in working-class areas). The Front claim that next election they will field over 300 candidates.

Is It Worth It?

Is it? Well, for groups like International Socialists it provides a fine chance for recruitment, as a reading of "Socialist Worker" a couple of years ago would prove. For example, it gave coverage to small local demonstrations against the Front: after the demonstration the IS would hold a small meeting where "six young workers" or "five Asians" then joined IS. At Leicester the IS even created a platform after the large march (with its star speakers) to

advertise a meeting that they were holding in the evening - a straightforward recruiting effort. But, as for fighting them? After all the NF are not supported by the capitalist class who prefer the Labour and Conservative parties to run the State and look after their interests. To receive support from even the most reactionary capitalist elements the Nat-Front must prove themselves a competent labour-bashing, strike-breaking militia, and this so far they have failed to do, although some maverick characters, ex-Military, Stirling and Walker,

have attempted to form private armies to use against the working class. The Front have been successful in their infiltration of anti-working-class organisations such as the National Federation of the Self-Employed, ratepayers groups, and in some areas are gaining a dangerous foothold in tenants groups and trade union branches (Searchlight is well aware of this). Liberals and pacifists say "Leave them alone" "Fighting them is a prevention of free speech" or "If you fight them, you are just as bad as them" - head-in-the-sand attitudes



"Black and White, unite and fight!"

Young Asians, Blacks and Whites
confront the Nat-front march
at Bradford....

which provide a fine argument to do fuck-all. On the other hand real revolutionaries argue that capitalism and the state are the main enemies; true, but the NF are dangerous for the working class in a way that the "legitimate" representatives of capitalism dare not be. And for reasons I indicated in Part One, fascist ideas are taking root in

some sections of the working class and the lumpen, so therefore this represents an immediate threat. It is important to tackle them without negating the class struggle: after all the class struggle is the best way to tackle the NF. Small groups of revolutionaries who because of lack of resources or pressing commitments elsewhere don't attack them directly should make it clear that if they are "bothered" by fascists they will pay them back in an unconventional manner.

Ways To Fight The Fascists

For anti-fascists out on the streets this is a question of tactics. I'm not against fighting the fascists in the streets, as you can guess I'm all for it: the trouble is that it's totally predictable how they are challenged. Whenever the fascists have a march or meeting, hey presto! a counter-demo or picket. What should be done is say to occupy the hall that the fascists are going to use, before they turn up, or if they have a meeting make it difficult for them to get out. When fighting the police the anti-fascists should (if there are enough of them, and if they are angry enough) follow the wonderful example of the people of Bradford. When the Front march, instead of forming up miles away from them, the anti-fascists should assemble at the same point the fascists are due to march from, thereby ensuring that they find it impossible to assemble, let alone march.

When the NF held its "march against muggers" a small group of anti-fascists (400) broke from the main anti-fascist march and ran off to meet the fascists. As the fascists were well protected by the police, and there were 1000 frontiers anyway, the anti-fascists marched on the sides of the march on the pavements, heckling the fascists and threatening them. Because of this no-one joined the Front's march - be-

cause of the constant barrage and because we informed people about what the NF were all about; people did however join the anti-fascists (including lots of kids) and we had a lot of fun and talked to lots of local people. There were about 6 arrests at the end of the march, at Hoxton.

All other things apart, the only thing that will eventually smash the Front is the very thing that will smash capitalism - a mass revolutionary working-class movement. Revolutionaries must work to build this - the most important task of all. An inkling of mass action was shown at Leicester, where the Front held a march in support of the "white workers at Imperial Typewriters". Only about 700 morons turned up to march with the Front. Meanwhile in another part of the city more than 5000 people, including many Asian workers & whole families, joined the march. It was a great occasion because the whole immigrant working-class community was involved in the strike that led up to the marches. Eventually the only thing that will sweep the fascists off the street is mass working-class action. To build a mass revolutionary working-class movement is a political task. As anarchists we must become involved in this, as part of building our anarchist movement, but that's another subject, comrades.

M.F. Wright

Typist's note - A pacifist friend told me how she was going home late one night with her small daughter in a pushchair, and when she got to her squat she found a gang of about 10 men - not kids - who she thinks were NF, beating up a squatter with chains. (The Front have been known to attack squatters.) She got very indignant and shouted at them in her usual earnest tone of voice, "What are you doing to that poor man? That's a terrible thing to do! Go away!" - and they fled into the night, perhaps out of astonishment, I don't say it would work for everyone,

Postscript

Events have moved quickly since I finished this article. First of all the "story" dredged up by the porno-Sun about the £600 a week Asians which led to an "immigrant invasion" scare. Secondly the successes of the fascists in the local government elections and Powell's new speech. And third the imprisonment of the racist Relf and the vile attacks on immigrant workers and students, the worst event so far being the murder of two foreign students by a racist gang in Woodford. The immigrants have been fighting back - witness the scenes in Birmingham when they fought with the police in an attempt to reach a pro-Relf demo put on by the NF. In Blackburn where the National Party won two seats in the local elections (from Labour incidentally) the National Party victory march was greeted by shoppers with claps and cheers while a demonstration of trade unionists and Asian workers was met with insults and jeers: "Fuck off back to where you come from, you black bastards". In Hackney an Indian family had their home fire-bombed, while in Greenwich a mosque was vandalised by fascists - and in the East End some mini-cab drivers are using their car radios to coordinate attacks on Asians and so on. But the immigrants are fighting back and we must aid them in their struggles.

I think that if one headline in the porno-Sun and one Powell speech can undo all the propaganda of the anti-racists and anti-fascists of the last four years, we must really consider another approach. I think that what is called for sooner or later is a few decisive battles in the streets that can defeat the fascists physically (Bradford and Birmingham show the way forward). We have tried the other way far too long - the results are nil. (The anti-fascist rioters in Bradford got a very good press, incidentally.) It is after all a question of time when this will happen; the sooner we get it over and done with, the better. The

only other thing I want to say is, when we beat the fascists on the streets, why should we then all go home to our beds? Let's keep the streets, let's have street meetings, sell our papers on the street and prevent the police from driving us back. When we can do this we will be able to make great inroads. We will be able to build up mass movements to smash capitalism and the state for once and for all.

MFW

THEY'RE READY ARE WE

The British Intelligence Services are now using new methods in Northern Ireland. So they will be used in Britain if and when there is a time of general unrest. The basic principle of the new method is that a thousand pieces of low grade information (like that Fred Bloggs knows several people in a political collective) are much more useful than a piece of high grade information (such as the location of a forthcoming bank raid). By using low grade accurately collated they can break up a whole network of activists. Whereas with the piece of high grade information they can at most arrest a few people.

The three main systems are:

1) P. CARDS. Altogether there is one for every third person in N. Ireland (which would mean about 18 million cards here in Britain). The Personal card consists of a suspect activist's address, age, description, job, habits, haunts and movements

and then there are cross references with vehicles, relatives and associates.

2) STREET RECORDS. These list every house in most streets in a city and contain the number of people who live in a house and details about them such as their jobs and cars. Each house has a distinguishing mark noted by the Police or the Army. This could be the colour of the front door, the make of the car or even the name of the cat. If somebody turns up at a check-point or police station with suspected false papers these can quickly be blown if the suspect fails to name his neighbours and to chink if they don't name the bloody cat.

3) VEHICLE INDEX. This records the ownership, colour, movements, and usual locale of vehicles together with registration marks and taxation details. Swansea motor taxation office will help them there.

The problem in the past for the Intelligence Services in Ulster has been that it takes too long to check manually through the cards and read the cross-references. A hot lead can be cold by the time the information is found and collated. So now they are computerising the information. For over a year they have been running a "Province-wide" computer rest on the vehicle index. The main vehicle data is held on one computer at Army headquarters in Lismore and three brigade headquarters and their forward operational control rooms are linked by teleprinter. The Police on the streets radios in a vehicle number and within a minute his control gets a teleprinter feedback which is read over the radio. By now the other indexes are on computer.

WATCH OUT THERE'S
A COMPUTER ABOUT.

John Northey

(continued from page 1)

hammer and a knotted nylon rope, as well as the "normal" methods of fist beatings, humiliation, and intimidation. When he had "confessed" he was taken to Curragh Military Prison where the army doctor examining him found extensive bruising on various parts of his body. He was refused any independent medical examination.

The Murrys were similarly treated, Marie finally signing a "confession" when she was put in the cell next to Noel so that she could hear his pain, and when she was told he would be killed if she did not confess. Noel is said to have made a verbal confession.

Ronan Stenson was so badly tortured that although he was put on trial with the Murrys they had to stop the case against him and transfer him to the prison hospital, where he is to this day, nine months after his arrest - still unfit for trial.

Stenson and the Murrys were brought before Dublin Special Court for their trial. In this court the case is not heard by a jury but by three judges appointed by the government. At the trial the main evidence was the "confessions". The special court refused to believe they were tortured, maintaining this pretence by refusing to allow any evidence - such as what medical reports there were, and an independent medical examination.

The condition of Ronan Stenson must have made this pretence even more difficult, and the abandoning of his trial due to his ill-health was inevitable.

The defence was not only not permitted to produce any evidence on any major point, but was not permitted to be present at a large part of the trial, including when the

verdict and sentences were given.

Trial by jury was introduced because people have faith in it and can SEE justice being done. This system has been carried on for over 5 centuries because it works, and is the only system of justice that is widely respected.

The Dublin Special Court was set up in 1939 to hear cases involving large para-military organisations, specifically the I.R.A., to "prevent intimidation of the jury". It appears more likely that the major trouble was not so much intimidation as the large number of people sympathetic to the I.R.A. who, if serving on a jury, would vote for acquittal. However, neither the Murrays nor Stephens are members of, or have any connection with, such an organisation.

We suggest that a jury would have pursued the allegations of torture and the demand for an independent medical assessment of the defendants' condition.

We accuse the Irish Government of:-

1. OBTAINING CONFESSIONS BY TORTURE

and then trying to pretend these 'confessions' are real

2. DENYING THE MURRAYS TRIAL BY JURY

for a serious crime, instead condemning them with 5 government-appointed agents who did not even hear (or need to hear) the evidence.

3. CONDEMNING THEM TO DEATH

for actions carried out by other people at other times.

No jury would have permitted this injustice.

Two more killings by the Irish Government will only add to the list of dead, and take Ireland further away from justice.

We demand AT LEAST a re-trial for the Murrays and Stephens - with a jury.

Partner, with a jury present, it might well have been the Irish Government and Police who were defending themselves before the court, and not the people accused.

They are using this special court, which has no jury, and which was set up to deal with the I.R.A., to try those people who have no connection with the I.R.A., and to sentence them to death, in order to show how tough they are getting with the I.R.A.

These hangings, the first in Ireland for 22 years, were due to be carried out on Thursday 21st July but at present an appeal is being heard. They can still hang, or it could be that the State will be "lenient" and decide they should get life imprisonment instead - a real test of having your cake and eating it.

Stop Press - The Murrays Appeal failed - They are appealing to the Supreme Court on Nov. 1st, so the execution has been deferred. (It's like appealing to the House of Lords in England - some chance!)

The dogs did bark, the children screamed,
up flew the windows all,
and everyone cried out - well done!
as loud as they could bawl.

